

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

FOLLOWING SENT SECSTATE WASHDC FROM LISBON 28 MAY 75:

QUOTE S E C R E T LISBON 2970

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PLEASE PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY FOR ASST SECY HARTMAN

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO, US, NATO

SUBJECT; PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH PORTUGUESE PRIME MINISTER

VASCO GONCALVES

1. PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH VASCO GONCALVES BEING GIVEN GREAT PROMINENCE HERE AND WILL SET TONE FOR USG-GOP RELATIONS OVER THE NEXT YEAR. SINCE GONCALVES IS A STRONG AND POTENTIALLY DIFFICULT PERSONALITY I AM SETTING FORTH SOME PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS THAT MIGHT FACILITATE THE CONVERSATION.

2. FIRST OF ALL GONCALVES IS PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT MAN IN PORTUGAL TODAY. HE GOES TO THE SUMMIT, HIS FIRST TRIP ABROAD AS PRIME MINISTER, IN THE MIDST OF A POLITICAL CRISIS WITH THE SOCIALISTS, DEEPENING CONCERN OVER ANGOLA AND
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EMERGING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTY. BUT HE ALSO LEAVES WITH A UN-

ANIMOUS VOTE OF CONFIDENCE BY THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND A RECENT PROMOTION TO GENERAL (PRESIDENT MAY WISH TO CONGRATULATE HIM). HE WILL PROBABLY VIEW SUMMIT AS A MEANS OF INCREASING HIS OWN DOMESTIC PRESTIGE. HE CAN BEST DO THAT BY INDICATING HE IS A SOUGHT AFTER MEMBER OF THE CLUB WHO NEVERTHELESS STANDS ON HIS OWN PRINCIPLES. SO FAR HE HAS AVOIDED ANY PROVOCATIVE ANTI-NATO STATEMENTS, AND I WOULD NOT EXPECT HIM TO DEPART FROM THIS PATTERN AT THE SUMMIT.

3. GONCALVES IS A COMPLEX AND CONTROVERSIAL PERSONALITY. THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS THAT HE IS MENTALLY UNBALANCED, AND OVERLY TIRED. ALTHOUGH I LACK PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CREDENTIALS I FOUND NO OBVIOUS SYMPTOMS OF THIS IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM. TO CONTRARY, WHILE HE IS EMOTIONAL AND IDEALISTIC, HE IS ALSO ALERT AND INTELLIGENT. WHILE THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY HE IS A COMMUNIST WE HERE HAVE NO HARD EVIDENCE TO THAT EFFECT; HE UNQUESTIONABLY IS A LEFTIST NATIONALIST WHO IS SYMPATHETIC TO THE FELLOW TRAVELLING MDP.

-- HE IS NOT PROTOCOL CONSCIOUS. AMENITIES CAN BE VERY PERFUNCTORY.

-- HE HAS NO CAPACITY FOR SMALL TALK; HE LIKES TO GO DIRECTLY INTO SUBSTANCE AND ENJOYS GIVE-AND-TAKE. BUT HE IS UNLIKELY TO OPEN SUBSTANTIVE PART OF CONVERSATION.

-- HE LISTENS INTENTLY AND INSTANTLY REBUTS ANY REAL OR IMAGINED MISSTATEMENT.

-- HE IS PROUD AND WILL REACT UNFAVORABLY TO ANY HINT OF CONDENSATION; AT SAME TIME HE RESPECTS STRENGTH AND FORCEFULNESS OF PURPOSE.

-- HE BELIEVES U.S. PRESS HAS DISTORTED SITUATION HERE, THAT WE ARE BLINDLY OBSESSED WITH ANTI-COMMUNISM. HE GIVES CREDENCE TO CHARGES OF POTENTIAL COVERT OR EVEN OVERT U.S. INTERVENTION.

-- HE THINKS WE ARE UNFRIENDLY TO THE THIRD WORLD AND DO NOT WANT TO SEE PORTUGAL IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED AND COMMUNIST STATES.

-- HE RECOGNIZES THAT PORTUGAL NEEDS TO MAINTAIN TIES WITH WESTERN EUROPE; AT SAME TIME HE BELIEVES DETENTE WILL FUNDAMENTALLY ALTER THE CHARACTER OF NATO.

-- HE THINKS PORTUGAL IS AT THE CENTER OF THE WORLD.

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4. GONCALVES APPEARS TO BELIEVE SOMEWHAT NAIVELY THAT DETENTE MEANS BOTH NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT WILL GRADUALLY DISSOLVE. HIS CRUSADE IS DOMESTIC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE AND HE SEES NO POINT IN RAISING INTERNATIONAL ISSUES THAT COULD COMPLICATE HIS PROBLEMS HERE WHEN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN HIS JUDGMENT IS LIKELY TO CHANGE. FOR THE MOMENT HE AND HIS FELLOW TRAVELLING ECONOMISTS WANT TO BE LEFT ALONE

TO DO THEIR THING IN PORTUGAL.

5. IF WE LECTURE GONCALVES ON INTERNAL AFFAIRS HE WILL REJECT US IN AN EMOTIONAL REBUTTAL. BUT HE ALSO WILL NOT RESPECT US UNLESS WE ARE FIRM, FORCEFUL AND FORTHRIGHT IN PRESENTING OUR CONCERNS. THE BEST OUTCOME WOULD BE FOR HIM TO LEAVE CONVERSATION WITH STRONG IMPRESSION THAT USG DOES NOT INTEND TO INTERFERE WITH EFFORTS TO CREATE SOCIAL JUSTICE HERE, BUT THAT WE WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY WEAKENING OF OUR SECURITY NETWORK IN EUROPE. ANY COMMENTS ON INTERNAL EVENTS SHOULD BE LINKED TO THIS FOREIGN POLICY CONCERN, WHICH HE RECOGNIZES IS LEGITIMATE.

6. GONCALVES SHOULD REACT POSITIVELY TO PRESIDENT'S NORMAL STRAIGHTFORWARD APPROACH. PRESIDENT COULD INDICATE AT THE OUTSET HE UNDERSTANDS GONCALVES IS A MILITARY MAN WHO LIKES DIRECT TALK. CONGRATULATIONS ON ORDERLINESS OF ELECTIONS MIGHT BE USEFUL. PRESIDENT COULD THEN DEVELOP THE THEME THAT DETENTE REQUIRES US TO BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH, A CONCEPT WHICH GONCALVES ACCEPTED IN HIS LAST CONVERSATION WITH ME (LISBON 2887).

7. PRESIDENT COULD THEN MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR CONCERN IS NOT INTERNAL PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS. WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO SOCIALISM. NOR DO WE PRETEND TO TELL GOP HOW TO STRUCTURE ITS GOVERNMENT. OUR ONLY CONCERN WITH MAKEUP OF GOVERNMENT IS THE POTENTIAL FOR A WEAKENING OF NATO FROM WITHIN. I SUGGEST WE INDICATE EARLY IN THE CONVERSATION THAT WE FULLY ACCEPT GOP STATEMENTS THAT IT WILL MAINTAIN ITS NATO COMMITMENTS (GONCALVES IS SURE TO MAKE THIS POINT ANY WAY). THAT IS NOT THE ISSUE. THE ISSUE WHICH SEEMS TO BE EMERGING IS A FUNDAMENTAL DIVERGENCE OF VIEW ON THE CHARACTER OF THE ALLIANCE. WE BELIEVE A POLICY OF DETENTE MUST BE BASED ON A
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STRONG NATO WHICH RESISTS COMMUNIST AGGRESSION BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT. GOP APPARENTLY HAS A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE COMMUNIST THREAT AND BELIEVES THAT NONALIGNMENT AND COALITIONS WITH COMMUNISTS ARE CONSISTENT WITH A NATO WHICH MUST INEVITABLY CHANGE ITS CHARACTER.

7. IT SEEMS TO ME NATO RELATIONSHIP IS THE OVERRIDING ISSUE WE FACE WITH GOP AND THAT THIS SUBJECT COULD USEFULLY OCCUPY MOST OF THE CONVERSATION. WE SHOULD NOT BE TOO EAGER TO KEEP THEM IN NATO, BUT WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE CHOICE IS THEIRS. NOW IS THE TIME TO START THEM THINKING ABOUT THE PROS AND CONS OF NATO MEMBERSHIP.

8. OTHER SUBJECTS IN GONCALVES'S BRIEFING BOOK ARE:
(A) ANGOLA. I HAVE TOLD PM'S OFFICE I AM UNABLE TO RESPOND

TO HIS REQUEST ON ANGOLA (LISBON 2888). HE WILL PROBABLY THEN
RAISE IT WITH PRESIDENT.

(B) AZORES. HE DOES NOT PLAN TO TAKE INITIATIVE, BUT WILL
RESPOND IF WE RAISE IT.

(C) CSCE.

(D) GSP. WE HAVE TRIED TO DISCOURAGE RAISING THIS.

9. FOLLOWING WILL SIT IN WITH PM.

(A) FONMIN MELO ANTUNES

(B) VADM ROSA COUTINHO

(C) FONMIN DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR POLIT CAL AFFAIRS FERNANDO DE
MAGALHAES CRUZ

(D) PM DIPLOMATIC AIDE JOAO PROENCA. CARLUCCI UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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